

M I D D L E E A S T A N D S O U T H A S I A R E V I E W

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American Hostages

Majlis Speaker Hashemi Rafsanjani said the United States has agreed "in principle" to the four conditions set by the Majlis for the release of the U.S. hostages and "has declared its acceptance" of two conditions--a public declaration of noninterference in Iran's internal affairs and an end to the embargo on Iranian assets in the United States. He told a press conference in Algiers, reported by Algiers radio, Iran has "no conditions" on how the hostages would be released, but he envisaged a "progressive release" of the hostages tied to a "progressive fulfillment" of the four conditions. Rafsanjani reiterated that the "key" to the hostages' release is in U.S. hands--if the United States accepts the four conditions, the question "will be solved." According to AFP, Rafsanjani said in regard to the other two conditions that the United States asked for a moratorium on returning the late shah's property to be sure it belongs to Iran and that legal claims against Iran are a matter for U.S. courts and will take time. Monitored Tehran media have not mentioned Rafsanjani's remarks.

At a press conference in Tehran, reported by AFP, Prime Minister Mhammad 'Ali Raja'i said he agreed with Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani's comments in Algiers, noting that the hostage question is "already settled." Iran is preparing additional explanations of its conditions to send to the United States, he said, adding that Iran might also ask the United States for certain clarifications to its reply to the four conditions set for release of the U.S. hostages. Declaring the U.S. embargo on weapons already bought by Iran to be "an important problem" tied to the hostage issue, Raja'i said "the delivery of those arms is our right." As to the hostages themselves, he asserted that their transfer from the students to the government is being carried out.

Iran Domestic Affairs

President Abolhasan Bani-Sadr, in a speech broadcast live by Tehran radio, reaffirmed Iran's determination to continue its "jihad for the sake of Islam and human liberty" against the Iraqi regime. Asserting that Saddam Husayn did not attack Iran "for border adjustments" but to "topple our republic," Bani-Sadr said Iran seeks a "decisive victory," not over the Iraqi people, but over the "criminal regime of Saddam Husayn." Bani-Sadr said Iran's armed forces had been unprepared for the Iraqi attack since they were "scattered on domestic missions" and weapons had not been "regularly checked." Nevertheless, the armed forces now have "sufficient weapons" and enjoy "high morale," he claimed. The president added that although neither the United States nor the Soviet Union has supplied Iran with weapons, "our weapons production has more than doubled" since the outbreak of war as a result of "our own brains, expertise and experts" and, he said, soon Iran will strike the enemy with "our own missiles."

Referring to the armed forces' need to "rest assured that a political-psychological front" is not being opened behind them, the president said propaganda alleging the ground forces "are not working" is false. He urged people to stop complaining and "preparing lists of mistakes" and to "join forces." Stressing the importance of adherence to the rule of law, Bani-Sadr attacked a situation in which "heaping insults on the president" have been "rewarded" but "remarks made in a television interview" have resulted in "imprisonment." He asserted that "until radio and television become impartial" and cease to be a "tool in the hands of this and that," he would "grant no interview." Criticizing "monopolistic domination" of the broadcasting networks, the president said he needs not "censorship" but "understanding," and he urged people to "abandon insults," refrain from talking about Majlis elections and concentrate on the war. Bani-Sadr went on to deprecate the continued existence of "six types of prisons," which he said, must be "closed down," and he asked why nothing has been done to end torture and arbitrary arrest, calling for an "impartial" judiciary. Tehran radio interrupted its coverage of Bani-Sadr's speech with a newscast and did not broadcast its conclusion.

Iran-Iraq Conflict

In the Gulf war Tehran radio claimed Susangeid is "completely under the control" of Iranian forces who are attacking Iraqi positions west of the city under cover of artillery support. The radio said the Iranian counterattack against the Iraqis over the last 3 days destroyed 100 tanks and caused 750 casualties. In other fighting, the radio said Iraqi artillery shelled Abadan and Ahvaz and reported heavy clashes near Dub-e Herdan and around the hills near Kani Sakht and Shur-e Shirin. For its part, two Iraqi General Command communiques, carried by Baghdad radio and its Voice of the Masses service, reported continued Iraqi operations around Susangerd with Iraqi planes and helicopters raiding Iranian armor and troop concentrations.

Israel

The government of Prime Minister Menahem Begin survived a Knesset motion of no confidence by 3 votes on 19 November. Jerusalem radio reported that there were 57 Knesset members against the motion, 54 for it and 2 abstentions. The non-confidence motion, the radio said, was presented because of the country's current economic situation. Among those voting against the government, the radio added, were former Defense Minister Ezer Weizman and former Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan.

Inter-Arab Affairs

Syrian-Jordanian Relations--Damascus radio cited a "responsible source" as stating that Jordanian authorities have been "mistreating" Syrian citizens trying to enter Jordan. "They humiliate and insult them," the radio said, and send a "large majority" back, blocking their entry into Jordan. According to the radio, the Syrian Government will take "appropriate measures" to guarantee the "safety and dignity" of Syrian citizens. In a commentary on the Arab summit, Damascus radio cited this problem as a further justification for Syria's request for the summit's postponement. Replying to the Syrian allegations, a statement by a spokesman for the Jordanian Interior Ministry, reported by Amman radio, said the Jordanian border authorities have "never insulted any visitor to Jordan" and recent precautionary measures to insure "maximum security" for the summit conference apply to all people visiting Jordan.

Arab Summit--Amman television reported that following the conclusion of the work of the seven-member Arab committee, Arab League Secretary General Chedli Klibi said that there are "no problems" on convening the summit conference and that "all Arab states" of the Arab League will attend meetings of the Arab foreign ministers on 20 November. Amman radio cited Klibi as stating that the Arab state has notified him of its refusal to attend the summit conference. An unattributed commentary broadcast by Damascus radio on 19 November, however, reiterated Syrian objections to holding the summit under present circumstances in which "some sides have fabricated a peripheral confrontation" to divert attention from "the real, more important and more dangerous confrontation." INA reported that the head of the PLO Political Department, Faruq Qaddumi, declared that the PLO will take part in both the Arab foreign ministers conference and the 11th Arab summit.

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GDR WEEKLY'S REPORT ON SOLTAN 'ALI KESHTMAND INTERVIEW

AU190945 East Berlin HORIZONT in German Issue No 46/1980 pp 14, 15

[Report on interview with Soltan 'Ali Keshtmand, PDPA Central Committee Politburo member and vice chairman of the Revolution Council, deputy prime minister and minister of planning of the DRA, with Egmung Junge--date not given]

[Excerpt] When on 27 December 1979 Amin was overthrown by the resolute action of forces loyal to the revolution around Babrak Karmal, and a new stage of the revolution was ushered in, the gates of the prison were opened for Soltan 'Ali Keshtmand. "But many of our comrades," he says, "were unable to live for that day. Their death involves the obligation for us to do everything possible to prevent such distortions of our party's line again."

"Precisely because of this," Keshtmand stresses, "and in view of these lessons of the past, we in the party now regard as the most important task the continuation of the unifying process in the party. We are undertaking great efforts to strengthen the party qualitatively and quantitatively. The activity of all comrades has perceptibly increased."

But the party was and still is confronted with the task of further strengthening the masses' confidence in the party, in the new people's power, because great damage was caused in the past in this respect. The mistakes of the past were (and are being) set right at the second stage of the April Revolution, which is being defined by the party--proceeding from a realistic assessment of the situation--as a national democratic stage. "If we succeed" Soltan 'Ali Keshtmand explains, "in finally winning the confidence of our people's masses--and everything indicates that we will accomplish that--it will be possible to organize and mobilize the masses even better for the aims of the revolution. Fortunately, many positive results have been scored recently thanks to the good and balanced policy of the party in that field."

"In the course of the second stage, for example, many meetings took place between the party-state leadership and the most varied representatives of our Afghan society--with workers, peasants, representatives of the army, intelligentsia, teachers, physicians, representatives of the clergy, employees of most sectors, journalists, writers and artists, and so forth--at which frank discussions about our policy were conducted. Recently the first congress of the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan was held. A corresponding congress of the Democratic Womens Organization will be convened soon. Our trade unions are engaged in very active work. The cooperative movement is developing."

"To put it briefly, our populace increasingly realizes that our party has put a final end to the mistakes of the past and that it is pursuing an honest policy in their interest. You only need follow our press to see this confirmed." In this connection, Soltan 'Ali Keshtmand points to the many reports which show the new relationship between the Afghan people and the people's power. More and more people who left the country in the past or had sought refuge, from arbitrariness, in the mountains are returning to their native regions and are declaring their readiness to cooperate with the people's power to put an ultimate end to the counterrevolution.

They belie all those inciters in the Western mass media, specifically those in the FRG, who are attempting, with great propaganda effort, to extol those people as "freedom fighters" and "defenders of Islam" who are actually doing the dirty work of imperialism, the Beijing hegemonists and of domestic and regional reaction, of the former feudalists, usurers, compradors and other bums.

"We know the forces which want to disturb our people's lives with murder and arson, who has trained and armed them, and who has sent them into our country. Imperialism and its accomplices had to abandon the hope of making our country a bulwark of reaction and an anticommunist stronghold," Soltan 'Ali Keshtmand explains. This is why they are now trying, with the assistance of criminal gangs--mostly complemented by highway robbers and bandits who have practiced this trade for decades. Now, however, with the support of reaction under the banner of defending Islam--to disturb the peaceful life of people and peaceful construction.

"During our visit to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [DRA] we have been able more than once to see for ourselves the criminal acts of these bandits. Mostly operating in small groups, they are trying to intimidate the population and incite it against the people's power. They pilfer and rob whatever they lay their hands on, set schools on fire, destroy infrastructural facilities, annihilate grain stocks and steal cattle. Many party officials, teachers, plain peasants and workers have fallen victim to their terror. Because of the complicated natural conditions in the country--chiefly mountainous, with isolated houses or small settlements that extend through the few fertile valleys up into the mountains, partly remote from major settlements--it is extremely difficult to put a quick end to the banditry, to locate the terrorists and destroy them." Our army, which is restoring its fighting strength after the complex past crisis, the armed security forces of our people, the people's militia and our security organs, in close cooperation with the population, are today increasingly succeeding in putting a stop to these bandits. In the struggle against this international conspiracy, the limited Soviet troop contingent which has been stationed in Afghanistan at the request of our government to repel the foreign aggression, is rendering us an invaluable assistance. We will never forget this assistance."

"Solving the indicated tasks constitutes the decisive prerequisite for this," Soltan 'Ali Keshtmand stresses, "to enable us--viewed on a long term basis--to fulfill our most important objective: the establishment of an independent, efficient national economy, so that we may decisively improve the living conditions of the majority of our population. Only thus can we convince our population of the correctness of our road, of our policy.

Naturally these problems are particularly important for me in my function as minister of planning, and they require much time and energy. As you certainly know, we adopted a 5-year plan a few months after the April Revolution. Taking this plan into consideration as well as the current specific conditions, we are now implementing a 1-year (March 1980-March 1981--E.J. editor's note) plan. We can state that despite all problems and difficulties, the plan fulfillment is proceeding successfully."

Keshtmand also explains the difficulties: Primarily it is the mistakes of the past--quite apart from the century--old backwardness of our country's economic development--that are causing us problems. Prior to the second phase of the revolution, the laws of economic development were frequently disregarded. In agriculture, industry, in the infrastructure and especially in trade and in the financial sector serious problems and difficulties occurred. Moreover, the counterrevolution is seeking to hit us particularly in this field through purposeful attacks against installations of our infrastructure, industry and agriculture--being well aware of the great importance of these problems. Also in the field of trade the counterrevolution is taking advantage of mistakes made in the past. (What is meant here is primarily the nationalization of various sectors of domestic and foreign trade which aroused part of the traders against the people's power and on the other hand led to serious supply bottlenecks--E.J.)

"In short," Soltan 'Ali Keshtmand sums up, "we have a plan that attaches to the development of industry, of agriculture, of the infrastructure, of trade and of crafts the importance that is due to them. For the first time in our country's history we have passed a balanced budget."

Keshtmand does not go into detailed figures, but names only one figure: "60-70 percent of foreign aid for the implementation of our plan we are getting from the Soviet Union. The other socialist countries, too, are increasingly granting us aid in many sectors, aid that is extremely valuable and increasingly important for us."

In the original version of the 5-year plan, projects were envisaged that were to have been implemented with the support of some Western countries such as the United States, the FRG, Canada and others, however, their implementation was halted. Thus, when it turned out that political pressures and blackmail could not achieve any alteration of the DRA's course, the so-called defenders of human rights resorted to a typically neocolonialist method that they used repeatedly in the past against other peoples: baiting and slandering on the one hand, and an economic boycott on the other.

According to Keshtmand, the government policy is paying special attention to the consolidation of the nationalized sector, and more and more also of the cooperative sector. This does not mean, however, that the private sector has no prospects. On the contrary, "for the first time in our country's history we have been able to provide a genuine opportunity for the development of a truly national entrepreneurship within the framework of our national economy. More and more representatives of this population group are coming round to realizing--despite the propaganda and baiting campaign specifically aimed at them that goes as far as threats of murder in the event of their collaboration with the new people's power--that our state offers them a great opportunity for development."

In view of the abundance of problems with which Soltan 'Ali Keshtmand is daily confronted, I am interested in how his family--Soltan 'Ali Keshtmand is married and is the father of four children, one son and three daughters--is putting up with the fact that father obviously has little spare time for them.

"My time for my private life is indeed very limited," he confirms, "but my wife," he adds somewhat dejected but at the same time relieved, "for example, can hardly reproach me much in that respect. She, too, is a member of our party, a member of the Kabul city committee and of the Presidium of our country's Democratic Women's Organization. In other words, she is also very busy, and thus, for example, she does not take too much notice if I come home very late at night."

As is understandable, I also wanted to hear a few words about DRA-GDR relations.

Only a few days ago, Soltan 'Ali Keshtmand returned, deeply impressed, from a visit to the GDR. He had headed the delegation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] to the international scientific conference in Berlin on the subject "the joint struggle of the workers movement and of the national liberation movement against imperialism, for social progress." During his stay in the GDR, he was received by Erich Honecker for a friendly talk, during which he conveyed the sincere thanks of the PDPA, the government and the people of the DRA for the solidarity displayed by the GDR from the very first moment of the victory of the April revolution.

"We assess the aid of our friends from the GDR as highly valuable and important," he stresses in our talk. "Support by the GDR is expanding to more and more sectors, such as the party, the economy, the training of cadres and so forth. The GDR has also helped us a great deal by its stand in the international arena, together with the USSR and the other states of the socialist community."

BANI-SADR SPEECH AT TEHRAN 'ASHURA RALLY

LD191512 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0915 GMT 19 Nov 80

[Speech by President Abolhasan Bani-Sadr at a mass rally in Tehran's Azadi Square on the occasion of the day of 'Ashura--live]

[Text] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. Today is 'Ashura, the day of martyrs, the day of the master of the martyrs for man's liberty, Hoseyn ibn-'Ali. It is our longstanding wish to see all women and men join together on this day under the Islamic Republic and see with their own eyes that that uprising [by imam Hoseyn in the early Islamic era] led to victory; that the nuclei of Islamic societies became a reality in the world; that our lives have become Islamicised.

This rally, boundless as a sea, is being held today. We hope next year's rally for the same purpose will be held under conditions in which Islam has been truly achieved. Having said our prayers today for the martyrs of Islam, I would like to speak to you the Iranian people and, in connection with the war, with the Muslim and non-Muslim people of the world. Let us now pray for those martyred for Islam. [Bani-Sadr stops speaking, while background noise from the crowd continues. Bani-Sadr continues his speech after about 30 seconds]

More than 2 months ago this war was imposed on the two brethren nations of Iran and Iraq. As for what we have done to grow weak internally as well as abroad, so that a dictator would dare to attack us, this is something which will have to be left for some other time.

As for what ideas, what thoughts, Saddam Husayn was entertaining when he invaded us, apparently, and in fact, as everyone in the world now realizes, he was under the impression that once his forces attacked our armed forces would collapse in less than a week, that the republic would fall and that Iran would find itself with a puppet regime. Entertaining such a pleasant illusion and possibly relying on the promises of the U.S. Government and others, he attacked our country. Now, more than 2 months after the start of the war, his forces have not gained anything except heavy casualties.

I believe if Saddam Husayn decided to act logically and rationally, today's massive rally should leave him with no doubt that this republic was established as you wished it, as a result of your martyrs' resistance and that it will not collapse by a military invasion. You, the people, are soldiers of this republic; our combative and armed forces are unending. There is no doubt that Iraq's armed forces will not be able to fight our 36 million people. Having seen his calculations about our defeat proven wrong, he began entertaining the idea that localized successes in the war might force us to surrender and accept a cease-fire; this would be under conditions in which enemy forces would still be on our territory, which would enable him to enter into negotiations from a position of strength, thus enabling him to impose his conditions on the republic and our nation. Now, this idea has been made futile as well.

Our nation is prepared to bear the hardships of war; it is prepared to bear sacrifices; but it is in no way prepared to accept the conditions set by Saddam Husayn's government. After Saddam Husayn's wish--his illusion--was also proved false, Iraq decided to whip up public opinion against us in the world, alleging that he favors peace but that we are against peace. Here, there and everywhere he could he said that he wanted peace and that he would withdraw his forces from Iran when we agreed to accept the legal borders with Iraq, but it was too late, for neither our public opinion nor world public opinion will be deceived any longer.

The Saddam Husayn Government did not attack our country for border (?adjustments). Saddam Husayn did not attack because under the Algiers agreement a few kilometers of desert area had been given to Iraq. He attacked in order to topple our republic, and in its defense we are not only defending the foundation of the republic but, more than that, we are defending the foundation of the existence of an independent entity the loss of which would mean that we would have no republic either. Thus, neither we nor the world's people will be deceived. Iran today, firmly and solidly, is determined not to forgive the Saddam Husayn government for its historic crime and to continue the war until a decisive victory is attained.

Our people know full well, and I wish to tell the people and Muslims of the world, that with our resistance, which is fraught with pain, hardship and loss, and with this war which is fraught with bereavement, hardship and difficulty, we are defending the survival of Islam. Should the armed forces of Saddam Husayn succeed in toppling this republic which is founded on the basis of Islamic belief, they will push back this great wave of the Islamic movement everywhere and will suppress Islam everywhere. They will crush everywhere all the forces fighting for independence and against the domination of the superpowers and will impose silence, stagnation and suppression throughout the Islamic world.

Therefore, our brothers and sisters all over the world should know that all those who are fighting at the fronts against the conspiracy of Saddam Husayn's regime are defending the victory of belief and the freedom of all great human values. Thus, in our view this war is a holy war for the sake of Islam and for the sake of human liberty. Who among you believes that if Saddam triumphs over our country he will bestow freedom upon the Iraqi people? Who among you believes that if Saddam wins you would be able to organize this unique gathering and assemble together? Who believes that if Saddam wins they will allow anyone in other countries to breathe in the name of Islam? Who believes that if this conspiracy succeeds they will allow the people in today's world to enjoy freedom in the true sense of the word? These are fundamental issues which we should raise, which should be of interest to the people of the world, which should be raised by the Muslims of the world and which should be raised for all progressive mankind.

This war is not a war which has been waged for a few inches of territory or for the readjustment of one or two boundaries. Saddam is a liar; he is lying; he has resorted to these issues after having failed in the war. On the first day when he attacked us he did so because he assumed that our regime would be toppled and that our country could be dominated by some executioners like his. He promised himself that after this victory the persecution of all Muslims and all freedom-loving people throughout the world would be started and that dictatorship and fascism would extend their evil shadow first over the countries in the Middle East and then over other Islamic lands and every other place where movements for the liberation of human beings exist.

Our people properly understood this war; they correctly evaluated the implications of this war; and indeed they participated in this war with manliness, valor and self-sacrifice, with even more than self-sacrifice. How could Saddam imagine that our pilots in less than 6 weeks could fly more than 50 times to strike at their targets, as some of those who I commended yesterday have done? How could Saddam imagine that our helicopters would snake their way through corridors of fire and strike at his forces? How could Saddam believe that our soldiers would remain so long at the fronts until they could pierce the breasts of the invaders with their spears? He could not imagine these things. Had he been confident that we would fight with such resolve and with such firmness he would never have given himself the trouble of attacking Iran.

At the time when the enemy attacked us our forces were not prepared and assembled. I shall leave the discussion of the reasons why they were not prepared until after our victory, but, in any case, they were certainly not prepared. Our forces were scattered on domestic missions caused by the counterrevolutionaries. What had been happening to our armed forces for 2 years resulted in the fact that weapons were not regularly checked and that they were not ready for use. We were under an economic blockade and we still are, so we had no hope of obtaining weapons and ammunition from any part of the world. These were some of the many problems which encouraged Saddam and strengthened his resolve to attack our country.

What he did not know, however, was that we could expect from ourselves what we could not expect to receive from others, and that the creative minds and hands of this nation would go to work and in the shortest possible time would produce all that is necessary for victory in the war, and this is what happened.

In this connection, I wish to express my thanks today to all the men and women of this country who by their efforts and endeavors night and day produce war material, who work with complete self-sacrifice in the repair shops, who work on the roads, and who work in the cities and villages so that our armed forces can successfully fight at the battlefronts. I hope that not only Saddam Husayn but also the powerful rulers of the world and those who are busy day and night hatching plots and conspiracies would wake up and realize that a revolutionary nation, a nation which has regained its self-confidence, a nation which believes in its own ideas, a nation which believes in its own hands and brains will never be defeated and destroyed. They did not give us weapons, but our brains and our hands made and prepared the weapons and now we have provided sufficient weapons for the fronts. Today our armed forces enjoy a high morale unprecedented in the last 200 years of Iranian history.

The bells are tolling. The conspirators and those who are dreaming of dictatorial governments should wake up. If I were Saddam Husayn I would certainly learn a lesson and would tell the Iraqi nation, with honesty and clarity, that the dictatorial regimes will not succeed and will bring you nothing but misery and degradation, and as a criminal dictator I would put myself at the disposal of the court which should make amends for the crimes I have committed against the two nations of Iraq and Iran. If he does not do so himself, the people of Iraq and our people will do this to him. [shouts of "God is great"]

One of the clear signs of belief in Islamic ideology is hope. We have never lost hope and have never accepted defeat. Today, however, on the basis of the current circumstances, we can express confidence about our victory. We are confident that we are victorious in this war; but, my brothers and sisters, victory means nothing if we merely say that our army defeated the Iraqi army. What does victory mean if two brotherly nations, two nations who have lived together for centuries, engage in fighting one another? How can we tell ourselves that we have become victorious over the Iraqi nation, over a land which contains the sacred remains of Imam Hoseyn? No, this has not been our intention and it is not our intention. We are very sorry for the death of young Iraqi soldiers, just as we are sorry for the death of Iranian Muslim soldiers.

If this war will mean the downfall of a wild dictatorship, however, if it will mean that the Iraqi people will achieve the right to rule themselves, in that case all the casualties and all the loss will be valuable and we will be able to say that we have won. The victory which we seek is not victory over the Iraqi nation, because we regard that nation as our brothers and the land of Iraq as sacred, containing the sacred remains of the greatest martyr and the purest human being. The victory we seek is victory over the criminal regime of Saddam Husayn, and we are confident that in this quest we are at one with the Iraqi nation and that the day of victory is the day when the two nations of Iran and Iraq will jointly celebrate this victory. [shouts of "God is great"]

My brothers and sisters, as I told you earlier, neither America nor Russia gave us any weapons. We tried to make whatever we could ourselves. In this war, our weapons production more than doubled. Most of these weapons were made and are being made by our own brains, expertise and experts. Very soon we hope to be able to strike at the enemy with our own missiles. Our own know-how, and our own hands made what we needed. Consequently, it was the (?necessary) interpretation of Islam and its potentials of man and his talents. To achieve victory in this way, not only must those who are fighting on the various fronts have excellent morale, but they must rest assured that a political-psychological front is not to be opened behind them; that every time they retreat or advance yet another wave of propaganda will not be launched.

Not all of you will have the opportunity to visit the battlefronts, but I tell you, I see most of these people who fight so valiantly before they go to the fronts and before they are martyred. I think, like you, I am a human being; I have feelings and emotions.

How can I see everyday soldiers, pilots, officers, guardsmen and all the volunteers going to the fronts to be martyred for this [word indistinct] victory, and then later in the evening learn that the man I had met in the morning, the man I had [word indistinct] spoken to, has been martyred?

At this very front of Susangerd the commanders told me that our helicopter pilots resembled cobras; that while the whole sky was covered with enemy fire these pilots would advance toward the enemy, zigzagging through the fire and striking at them. Those (?in the air) tell us how strongly our soldiers are fighting on the ground. If you take note of the facilities used by the enemy, compare them to our own facilities and take account of the fact that we are subjected to economic sanctions, then you yourselves can evaluate the meaning of fighting under such circumstances. I tell you quite candidly, every time I meet soldiers, NCO's and officers of the ground forces on the fronts I feel ashamed. Their inherent [word indistinct], their enthusiasm, their strength and ability make one ashamed. (?You cannot believe it until you see it).

The propaganda launched by some people to the effect that the ground forces are not working should not be believed. [cheers and shouts of approval]. If they are not working, then who has built such an obstacle against the enemy? There is a difference, however, and often those who do not take note of such a difference are easily deceived by the propaganda. The difference is that with our first air and sea strikes we achieved superiority and victory. On the ground, however, by making use of all its ground forces--as I am told--by deploying 12 divisions, the enemy launched its offensive. Do you think it is easy for our soldiers, our guards and our volunteers to build a dam from flesh and blood against these 12 divisions, to halt their advance? You who resort to propaganda, then, if you are really honest, listen to me: stop backstabbing; let our armed forces maintain their high morale and achieve victory in this war. [cheers]

Let our commanders get on with their battle with peace of mind, without fearing propaganda or a political-psychological war, without feeling any pressure, and without having their nerves racked. Ask us, ask them for victory. There are ups and downs in wars; a good commander is one who does not sacrifice final victory for small successes. Let us not create a condition wherein, as is the case in the Iraqi Army, fearing a bloodthirsty dictator, the army is forced to sustain heavy casualties merely to achieve some insignificant victories. Let our armed forces do their fighting, enjoying peace of mind, with their might.

I now address our armed forces: You are fighting for the sake of Islam and our Islamic homeland; you are fighting to achieve victory. You must not feel hurt by these utterances; you must not feel hurt by statements made by this or that small group or person; you must not feel demoralized. On the contrary, these matters should raise your morale, for if the enemy wants to deal us a blow he will have to [word indistinct] disguise himself as one of us and act in such a way. That the people will believe that what he claims is true and, God forbid, believe him: [sentence as heard] Therefore, continue your fighting without fear or apprehension and with full resilience; ignore what is said behind your backs.

As for you, citizens, your massive gathering tells me that you are not deceived by these utterances. I am not addressing them; I do not wish you to start clashes and beat up each other everyday because such and such a person has made certain remarks, but do not listen. The armed forces, all the members of the armed forces, remember there is no alternative for victory apart from fighting on the battlefronts. Do not seek faults; do not keep preparing lists of mistakes. Join forces, as you are, maintain your coordination, and look for victory.

If we are defeated, then there will be no difference between us in defeat; we will all be defeated and all of us will be annihilated. If we triumph, however, then we will all triumph. After victory is achieved we will all build on the ruins. So when we know that our differences and clashes lead to defeat, why do we do it? Let our hearts, our sentiment for each other, remain close to each other and flourish. Let us all turn this war into victory.

Now, I turn to the third part of my speech, which deals with the anniversary of the uprising on 'Ashura and the situation of our country. First, I begin with the philosophy of the uprising of the lord of the martyrs. [Imam Hoseyn] Several times imam Hoseyn himself was asked about the reasons for his uprising. He was asked: What is the reason for your uprising against Yazid's regime? Why are you rising up against that regime? (He gave a few reasons). Of course, at every opportunity (?I have) referred to one or two of these reasons, however, in [word indistinct] he gave (?six) reasons for his uprising.

His first reason was: Corruption has increased and I am rising in order to transform corruption into virtue and to rectify the affairs of the Muslims. His second reason was: I am rising in order to bid people to do good and to forbid that which is evil. The third reason was: Do you not know that truth has become unfashionable, and that falsehood is glorified, is placed upon a pedestal and is ruling? I have risen to topple the rule of falsehood and to restore truth. The fourth reason: He was asked what is wrong with Yazid that you do not pledge allegiance to him? He replied: Yazid is a drunkard, an adulterer and he commits acts of corruption. His fifth reason was that corruption was not confined to one place. He said: If I do not rise corruption will spread throughout the world. I am rising in order to stop corruption spreading throughout the world. Finally, he summed up the first five reasons in the sixth reason and said: The caliphate of Yazid is reactionary, it is a return to the period of ignorance and chauvinism. Yazid wishes to revive the age of ignorance in the name of Islam. I have arisen so that the age of ignorance may not be restored.

Yes, this is the true reason for the uprising of the imam, but do not imagine that in Islamic history alone the Ummayyid Caliphate wished to restore the age of ignorance under the pretext of Islam and to establish the rule of the age of ignorance once again. This has occurred continuously in history. In all periods of human history, in all revolutions without exception, after the victory of the revolution the power-seeking forces, the forces which sought only monopolistic power have tried to change the revolution into counter-revolution and to reestablish the age of ignorance in a new guise. The martyrdom of the imam was an attempt and an endeavor so that by the Islamic community being reawakened and reminded this return to the age of ignorance would not take place in Islamic history and so that the government of Yazid would not be established in the name of Islam and in the name of an Islamic caliphate.

In our time this can be called, in today's language, the imposition of ideological indoctrination. Some forces are expert in this sphere, they are expert at the imposition of ideas so that gradually and after some time one sees that the original revolutionary idea has been substituted by a counterrevolutionary idea and that the government of revolution has been changed into the government of counterrevolution. Who would have believed that in 'Abd an-Nasir's Egypt Anwar as-Sadat would come to power and would compromise with Israel on behalf of the same regime? Who would have believed that in Iraq in the wake of opposition to the domination of U.S. imperialism a military coup d'etat would take place and that a group of people would come to power who, eventually, would collude with America and would today hatch this plot against our nation? So the martyrdom of Hoseyn Ibn 'Ali was a great attempt to prevent a catastrophe being imposed upon human society in the name of the Ummayyid Caliphate, which has been done in other revolutions.

If we wish to speak about the majority of groups, in connection with this occasion and according to the imam's recommendation, we should at least speak of the organizations which have come into being during the Iranian revolution. We should tell them that we have brought about a revolution in order to topple the Yazid-like regime of the Pahlavis and not to allow such a regime to come into power in Iran again, under any name or pretext. In that regime people had no dignity, their rights and responsibilities were not defined, justice was not executed, and the law was merely an excuse and a tool in the hands of a dictatorial regime that was used against its opponents and against the people of this country.

Do we, in our regime, want to revive the tradition that prevailed in the Pahlavi system? Should not our people gain legal status? Should not their rights and obligations be laid down in law so that no one will be able to violate these rights? Who in the realm of jurisprudence would accept that heaping insults on the president be rewarded, but that protesting this be subject to imprisonment? Who could accept that remarks made in a television interview would result in prosecution and imprisonment? [passage indistinct]

Why are you more Catholic than the pope? Why do you not exercise patience? Let us bring our complaints to you and tell you what sort of propaganda is harmful to us so that you can stop it. How can you distinguish our interests better than we can? Stop playing so much with the people's dignity. I have said repeatedly that a bad job does not start from the best things, it starts from the worst things. If the law were implemented with regard to the worst, the best would not have their turn [as heard]. If we do not stand here, the turn of the others will come in due course, and there will come a day when these people in the country will have no legal institutions.

It is asked: Why do they not interview you on radio and television? I have said that until radio and television become impartial and until they cease to become a tool in the hands of this or that--something which they are now--I will not be prepared to talk to them. Where has it been seen [repeated three times] that officials of an organization take it upon themselves to censor a statement made by the president, that even coercion and pressure are used to dominate that organization and that efforts are made to take control of the radio and television through gunshots? Not only that, but also those who perpetrate such acts are promoted and become authorities in such an organization. Thus, so long as this state of affairs continues I will not speak through this organization and will grant no interview. I must state here: Do not try to legitimize your monopolistic domination over this organization a monopoly. Let our publicity organizations engage in publicity for the country and for the Islam. Do not do something that would enable all the unpleasant features of the former regime to take over again.

How hard did the imam try to achieve unity between the intelligentsia and the clergy? Who are you to attack science and expertise? You want the world to gain the impression of us that Islam is against religion, [corrects himself] that Islam is against science.

My brothers, my sisters, if we exercise the rule of law and if everyone is treated within the realm of law there will be no cause for differences, but this is an if--if everyone limits himself to the confines of law. If, however, in the name of law, they try every day to take every opportunity to strengthen the basis of their power, as it were, then unfortunately differences will arise and become even deeper.

In these difficult circumstances when we are at war, let us tell the world--as we have done already--that since the dawn of Islam we are the first nation not to declare a state of emergency in wartime, not to declare martial law, not to engage in wholesale arrests and imprisonment, not to impose pressure and restrictions, not to trample underfoot fundamental freedoms, to remain truly loyal to the constitution in action, not to give precedence to independence over freedom, to implement principle No 9 of the constitution, to bring about legal guarantees for the people, to triumph over the enemy and not to sacrifice those dear principles for which we brought about the revolution because of a state of war.

You men and women, you who have taken part in this great rally, as president and as the person who is directly shouldering the responsibility of the imposed war, I do not need to impose repression in order to prosecute the war, I do not need to use the methods of coercion, I do not need censorship. On the contrary, I need an atmosphere of understanding; I need an atmosphere in which you truly do not engage in actions which cause differences. I want everyone truly to listen to what is in the imam's heart and not to do those things which create differences. I tell everyone and I say it again now, I am not interested in coming and saying certain things which could hurt anybody's feelings.

What can I do when I see certain things being done which I cannot ignore? What can I do when I see in the heat of a war, and under the unbearable pressure which [interrupts himself to tell the audience to be quiet] what can I do when I see in the heat of a war, at the time when we need a healthy atmosphere, an atmosphere imbued with morality, people going about every day and raising one thing or another under various pretexts, and with their action damaging morale? For how long do I have to go on every night, night after night, consoling military commanders and telling them not to listen, to ignore it, to busy themselves with the war? Why are you trying so hard to undermine their morale? Why are you trying so hard to undermine the morale of the armed forces? Do not do that sort of thing so that I do not have to say it.

A nation that is fighting so generously, a nation that is fighting with so much self-sacrifice--why do you not let them carry on with the war with peace of mind? It is not fair that we should be at the front merely to see every day that certain people are busy occupying positions. When we ask: Why are elections here and there still pending, they tell us there are problems. Then, suddenly, in the middle of a war, they say that because some of the deputies will be going to the fronts and the Majlis will lose their votes, we now want to hold elections. Do not do this sort of thing. Let us all concentrate on the war. Let us get on with the war. Do not do things that will lead to a situation in which others will be mourning our dead.

I do not want to talk specifically about anyone or any group. At least I must say that these things are ugly. These things are bad and should be avoided. Gentlemen, my brothers, my sisters, I do not want to arrest anyone--I do not want to arrest anyone because he has said bad things or insulted the president. I am not complaining about anyone either, for every time someone asks: Why are you not arresting them, they say a complaint needs to be lodged first. I will never lodge a complaint. Is it, however, always necessary to lodge a complaint? There are times when someone can be arrested without such a complaint being lodged and there are also certain times when people can be arrested only if a complaint has been lodged. Thus, I will never make a complaint. I am not hurt because of any of those who have hurled insults at me, for I am not doing what I am doing for them or for you, but for the sake of God, in my own estimation, and for the sake of reaching the loved one this is only a first step. Insults and abuse will not weaken and tame me. It is for this reason that they are hurling insults, and this is the people's answer. I am not afraid of insults, but I have a complaint to make. This is for the differences between us. Play fair: Since you do not arrest and even reward those who hurl insults at the president do not arrest those who ask why you are hurling insults. If you want to listen to me you should all abandon insults. Insulting is a sin in Islam; do not do that sort of thing.

If we did not mention it would you yourselves take the initiative to stop your way of doing things? How many different types of prisons have been envisaged in our constitution? Did our constitution not ban torture? Did it not forbid it? In which country in the world, in which religion, in which Islam, in which Islamic country, in which Islamic rule can you see six types of prisons? Why do you not close them down? Why do they not close them down? I myself said and wrote on several occasions before the overthrow of the shah's regime that I hoped that in the regime of an Islamic republic, by carrying out Islam, there would come a time when we would no longer need prisons.

Why is it then that now everyone, every institution, runs a prison of its own? These must be closed down. An Islamic atmosphere is an atmosphere of trust. Islam is a religion of trust, is a religion of spirituality, and is a religion of the absence of fear. In Islam it is only God that one has to fear, and even then only if one has sinned.

Thus, do not create so many fearful and frightening apparatuses. Why is a commission not set up to look into these various prisons? Why is no one finding out who is inflicting torture? How, in an Islamic regime, could we have human life and everything so fallen in value that one can be condemned as easily as drinking a sip of water and that the whole affair is finished before anyone can learn anything about it? You should eliminate this state of insecurity.

Believe me, I have had time and again to reassure the commanders, the officers and those who are fighting that the period of insecurity and lack of dignity has come to an end. Did not the imam declare this year the year of security? How is it that individuals are being arrested and jailed and are forgotten for months? Enough of these acts; our judiciary must be impartial and independent. It must not be allowed to assume different types and forms and develop into a tool for political power. If this were to happen there would arise the sort of situation against which Imam Hosaeyn rose and for which he was martyred.

I do not wish to tell you that in the Islamic Republic the situation has degenerated to such an extent that no one dares say: Sir, every job needs its own expert, knowledge and science. The moment you say anything like this, some people who know nothing at all go for their clubs and say: These are the liberals. Liberals are those who exercise coercion when they have the power to do so and surrender when they lose this power. You should go and see who is behaving in this manner, for these are the liberals. Some of them are liberals and moderates, some of them are in favor of a dictatorship. Those who (?exceed) their limits [passage indistinct] and do not submit to unjust rule of the powerful when they are weak, these are ideologically the Muslims. [Tehran Domestic Service in Persian interrupted President Bani-Sadr's speech to broadcast the 1030 GMT newscast. As of 2324 GMT on 19 November the radio had not resumed broadcast of the speech.]

BANI-SADR MEETS WITH PALME, REJECTS PEACE INITIATIVES

LD201106 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 20 Nov 80

[Text] Olof Palme, the former Swedish prime minister and special envoy of UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, met this morning with President Abolhasan Bani-Sadr, commander in chief of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

According to PARS, during this meeting our country's president explained the causes of this imposed war and the goals of Saddam Husayn's regime. In response, Mr Palme voiced the United Nation's concern over the continuation and spreading of the war and expressed hope that a peaceful way would be found to end it as soon as possible.

Our country's president emphasized: We cannot study any peace proposal so long as Iraqi Armed Forces and spies remain on our territory. The same PARS report indicates that Mr Palme will visit war-damaged areas in various parts of our country before leaving for Iraq.

BANI-SADR TOURS BUSHEHR AIRBASE, KHARK ISLAND

LD191630 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 19 Nov 80

[Text] Yesterday morning Dr Seyyed Abolhasan Bani-Sadr, president and commander in chief of the armed forces, together with Colonel Fakuri, commander of the air force, arrived in Bushehr Province for an inspection tour. He was welcomed by the governor general of Bushehr Province and the commander of the navy. The president and his entourage then went to Bushehr airbase and met with the brave pilots of this base. Afterwards the president presented awards to some of the brave pilots every one of whom had successfully performed more than 50 war missions over enemy territory. The pilots of this airbase presented the president with a copy of the glorious Koran.

Then the president went to Bushehr naval base. He flew in a navy helicopter and landed on one of the heavy frigates of the Navy of the Islamic Republic of Iran and left for Khark Island aboard the Frigate. The commander in chief of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran inspected the frigate and was briefed on its military operations. While the frigate was circling Khark Island, the president visited various parts of Khark Island. At the end of this inspection, which lasted a few hours, the president addressed the ship's crew from the frigate's command room. He said:

Our people who--relying on their faith--are faced with hardship, plots and war, have shown their hearts to be as big as this sea. Our armed forces, at sea and in the air, (?delivered blows) at the enemy.

Mr. Bani-Sadr said: On the first day, they told us that our navy was no more than 10 percent prepared for battle, and our air force 17 percent; while you yourselves with your hard work and efforts, and by utilizing your talents have brought this 10 percent to 100 percent today.

The president added: Those who imposed this war on us have said this war would not last more than a week; it has lasted for about 2 months up to now. Not only have we not become weaker, we have grown stronger because all the equipment which was lying idle has gone into operation. Therefore, we can see that by relying on the efficiency and capability that the offspring of our nation have shown during this war that we have gained the necessary (?training) and (?experience), that the days of conspiracies are over, and that the super-powers will leave us alone from now on, so that this nation can begin the process of reconstruction.

The commander in chief stressed: One should be patient in order to obtain victory, one should not be in a hurry. I have repeatedly said that we are relying on independence in this war, and that we are attaching more importance to the human factor. Since this change occurred, order and method were resumed in the army and consequently, war equipment and all that was exposed to wind, rain and erosion was rebuilt and sent to the battlefields. Today, we can be optimistic of the outcome of the war with complete confidence.

Addressing the frigate personnel, the president said: You, who are on the frigate, work with order and method, faith and excitement, and you who have had the opportunity to show your worth in this war, know that the first step toward growth is to accept order and method; after this acceptance comes patience and perseverance. Since order was restored to our army, the outcome of the war has altered; hence, the enemy attacked us three times in the past 3 weeks and we have defeated the enemy in all three attacks.

According to our correspondent, after this naval inspection the president returned to Bushehr and, accompanied by Fereydun Sahabi, chief of the country's atomic energy organization, inspected the Bushehr atomic power station installation and workshops and finally visited some of the people injured during the war who had been brought to the power station hospital.

TEHRAN REPORTS PALME MEETING WITH RAJA'I

LD201110 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 20 Nov 80

[Text] Mr Olof Palme, the UN secretary general's envoy, met and conferred with Prime Minister Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i. According to PARS, during this meeting, which lasted more than an hour, they discussed problems related to the war imposed upon Iran by Iraq.

RAJA'I INTERVIEW ON PALME MISSION, CABINET APPOINTMENTS

LD201258 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1111 GMT 20 Nov 80

[Interview given by Prime Minister Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i to a Tehran radio correspondent on 20 November--recorded]

[Text] [Question] Mr Raja'i: [words indistinct] today you met and conferred with Mr Olof Palme, the special envoy of the UN secretary general. Please tell us what proposals he put forward to end the war between Iran and Iraq and what you said to him in reply.

[Answer] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. He did not offer any particular proposal. He came to ascertain our proposals for ending the war. I told him that our problem is Iraq's violation of Iranian territory. This violation exposed Saddam's ambition to rule the Muslim nation, therefore, the issue of the Iraqi aggression against Iran should be taken seriously and the freedom-seeking people of the world must put this kind of person on trial. He must be dealt with in the same way as others before him who committed similar crimes.

The difficulty which Mr Palme and others like him face is (?understanding how this problem has reached this stage) and how it can be solved. It is said they are very concerned over the fact that people are being killed and the (?the oil) wealth destroyed. Well, I am certain that because they are not aware of Islamic values, this issue has remained vague to them and that they are therefore seeking to find a way to announce a cease-fire after which the forces could gradually leave our territory, which they might or might not do.

I explained to him that the teaching of our prophet is that we should not fire on enemies when we see them flee. Therefore, if the first part of this problem is solved--that is, if the act of aggression is officially admitted--and when Saddam's position is exposed, then the problem of evacuating the Iraqi soldiers, who, in fact, are our brothers and have been deceived by Saddam and foreign propaganda, becomes a very simple issue. When we are sure they are retreating, then we certainly shall not fire on them.

[Question] Mr Raja'i [words indistinct]

[Answer] I have said many times that the end of the war in Khuzestan and the (?signing of a treaty) will be determined by the blood of our brothers and sisters being shed there. We cannot solve any problem by sitting around a table.

[Question] Mr Raja'i, you have recently returned from the front. Please tell us, [words indistinct]

[Answer] Well, the situation in the battle zones is the same as (?explained yesterday). My trip was successful. (?Our refugees) are not settled yet and at present they are being moved from one place to another. We have temporarily housed them and at present the Red Crescent and other foundations are searching for a place where we can house them for some time--till the war ends and the damaged regions are rebuilt.

[Question] Concerning the introduction [to the Majlis] of the ministers of foreign affairs, finance, commerce, and education and training, could you tell us if you have recently given any names to the president and will it be possible for you to present these ministers to the Majlis (?in the near future)?

[Answer] I would rather not mention the names of the persons I have given [to the president] because the president in a private letter asked why I do this [making public the names of the nominees]. The ministers of foreign affairs, commerce, and education and training, however, have been nominated. I am still firm about the person I mentioned for the finance portfolio, and, at the moment, he is busy working. The president has replied concerning the minister of education and training, but not on the commerce post. A long time has passed--about 18 days--and I hope it is only the war and his involvement with it which has prevented him from answering. Concerning the minister of foreign affairs, no, it has not been a long time. If course, I have nominated a number of persons to whose appointments he has not agreed. Recently I nominated another person, and he has not yet replied about him either.

[Question] Recently, the Majlis discussed why the government passes resolutions in Cabinet meetings without sending them to the Majlis for ratification or to the president for his views. What can you tell us about this matter?

[Answer] The view expressed by our brother [presumably Bani-Sadr] concerning the resolutions--well, he thought that the government has no right to approve resolutions and that it is the duty of the Majlis to do this. Of course, I saw him later and told him that if he comes up with problems, he should first discuss them with me. You know that all of us are doing this for the first time. I have been made a prime minister for the first time, and it is the first time that he has discussed governmental issues. It is possible for me to make mistakes and it is possible for him to make mistakes. Resolutions are part of the duties of the Cabinet. Even if the government wishes to present a bill to the Majlis, it should first be discussed in the Cabinet which should decide whether or not to send that bill to the Majlis. The approval of resolutions and bills by the Cabinet is in accordance with the constitution and poses no problem. On the issue of bringing them to the notice of the president, however, I do inform him. Some time ago it was written in one of the newspapers that the actions of the government are not lawful because the president is not being informed. Of course, I expected this matter to be approved by our brother, the president, but according to principle 141, right from the start we have sent him all the resolutions. Recently, he expressed his views about 3 of the resolutions, and there have been more than 100 of them. I asked the brothers [presumably members of the cabinet] to investigate the matter and to solve the problematical points.

[Question] [Words indistinct] Concerning the issue of expertise, do you think these (?problems) refer to your ministers and Cabinet or [Raja'i interrupts]

[Answer] No, I don't think when our brother talks about the necessity of expertise, knowledge and so forth he is referring to the Cabinet, because, well, he certainly knows that in the Ministry of Post and Telegraph our minister has a doctorate in this field and that before becoming a minister he was the dean of the faculty of posts and telegraphs. I do not think there is a specialized school for posts and telegraphs in the world in which he has not studied. The minister of science and higher education is a specialist who can be regarded as an expert. Before becoming a minister he pursued his profession and continues to do so, but in the sense of having been minister of science and higher education several times before, no, not only has he not been a minister before, but everybody else who becomes a minister is doing so for the first time. I repeat, there is no specialized school for the ministry of Science and Higher Education where someone might go and study. Also, (?the person in town planning) is an engineer and has the necessary expertise.

Bearing in mind the formation of my cabinet, I am sure that these brothers do not refer to the Cabinet in any way when they talk of lack of expertise; it would be very strange for them to be so uninformed. I did so [presumably appointed the members of the Cabinet] with their knowledge and even announced it in the newspapers--unless there are some cases of which I am not aware. Concerning the basic issue itself, however, I believe that in a revolutionary ideological government, when one wishes to entrust someone with a responsibility, he must definitely put ideology before expertise. Certainly, if someone does not believe in the ideology of a society, he will never place his expertise at the service of that society. Expertise must be harnessed by the ideologies of a society and controlled. I think every fair-minded person will accept that in a revolutionary society in which ideology rules, ideology should dominate the basic issues in that society. Therefore, the first point is the belief in a republic, then service to that republic. This is the first basis. There is no doubt that a believing expert is better than a believing nonexpert.

[Question] Concerning gas and the difficulties which some of our fellow citizens and the inhabitants of big cities who drive (?taxi) are facing, have you taken a new decision on this issue [words indistinct]?

[Answer] Yes, I have said that the problem of gas has caused certain inconveniences for our compatriots whose work necessitates using private vehicles. They have faced problems and some have even become unemployed. (?Fortunately, the mayor has made a study), and perhaps during the next few days its conclusions will be announced. He said he would make an announcement today or tomorrow [words indistinct]. I hope we can employ these brothers with proper controls. In this way the problem of the people's transportation will be solved as well as the problem of the unemployment of these brothers.

RAJA'I TO SPEAK AT CEREMONY COMMEMORATING MARTYRS 20 NOV

LD200518 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0330 GMT 20 Nov 80

[Text] The headquarters for commemorating martyrs, the Imam Khomeyni relief committee, invites the martyr-rearing people of Iran to attend a gathering for commemorating martyrs. This session will be held at the martyred Motahhari College, between 1400-1600 today, with a speech by Mr Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i, the prime minister.

Also, at 0900 in a special ceremony the clean bodies of some of the martyred military brothers and two martyred pilots from the airborne division will be buried. The names of the martyred pilots are Maj Ahmad Shahrokh-Azin and Senior Warrant Officer 'Ali Nasiri-Rostami. The funeral procession will start from the Arg mosque.

REPORTAGE ON RAFSANJANI'S VISIT TO ALGERIA

Algiers Report on Press Conference

LD192348 Algiers Domestic Service in French 2300 GMT 19 Nov 80

[Text] The speaker of the Iranian Consultative Assembly, Mr Rafsanjani, has announced that the United States has accepted the principle of the four conditions put forward by Iran for the release of the American hostages. Speaking at a press conference in Algiers, the speaker of the Iranian assembly noted, however, that the American authorities are still creating certain problems, particularly regarding the return to Iran of the financial assets of the ex-shah of Iran. Mr Rafsanjani also stated that Iran might well envisage a progressive release of the hostages linked to a progressive fulfillment of the conditions.

Further Algiers Report

LD200042 Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 0000 GMT 20 Nov 80

[Text] Speaker of the Iranian Consultative Assembly Rafsanjani has explained his country's attitude toward the armed conflict between it and Iraq and the question of American hostages. Speaking at a press conference yesterday, which was attended by the local and foreign press, Rafsanjani said that his talks with the president of the republic and the speaker of the National People's Assembly were useful and constructive and enabled him to explain the position of the Iranian Islamic Republic on the war with Iraq and matters of common interest.

On the question of the American hostages in Iran, Rafsanjani said that the United States has agreed to the four conditions of the Iranian Consultative Assembly in principle and that a committee has been formed in Tehran to deal with the question of the American hostages and to discuss the way to implement the Iranian conditions. The committee consists of the Algerian ambassadors in Tehran and Washington, head of the Algerian Central Bank and a number of Iranian experts. The committee works under the supervision of the Iranian minister of state.

He added that the United States has declared its acceptance of two conditions: noninterference in Iran's internal affairs and the lifting of the embargo on Iranian assets in the United States. Then he said, however, that the United States has not yet replied to the two remaining questions, which are: the return of the shah's wealth to Iran and the dropping of all claims against the Iranian Government.

As for the way that the hostages would be released, Rafsanjani said that Iran has no conditions in this regard and that Algeria, which has acted as intermediary in the matter, will be the one to organize the operation for the transfer of the hostages to the United States after their release by Tehran.

AFP Report

NC192003 Paris AFP in English 1955 GMT 19 Nov 80

[Text] Algiers, 19 Nov (AFP)--The United States has accepted the principle of the four conditions posed by Iran for the release of the hostages, visiting Iranian parliament speaker Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi Rafsanjani announced here today. The Americans must now comply with the conditions. Mr. Rafsanjani said that "the American reply satisfies us and on the basis of this response we will release the hostages when the United States applies the Iranian conditions."

Mr Rafsanjani said that Washington had agreed it was ready to satisfy immediately two conditions: 1)--the public announcement of U.S. non-interference politically and militarily in Iran; 2) lifting of the U.S. "freeze" on Iranian property.

Mr Rafsanjani said that as far as the late shah's property was concerned Washington had asked for a moratorium to ensure that the property did in fact belong to the Iranian state.

Concerning the fourth condition, the annulment of legal proceedings by U.S. firms against the Iranian state, Mr Rafsanjani said this was a matter for U.S. courts and also required a certain period of time.

"The U.S.," he said, "admitted to us that the four conditions are fair and acceptable, but they could be applied only progressively."

"For our part, we are ready to progressively free the hostages in relation to the application of these conditions."

Rafsanjani's Statement, Speech

JN191939 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1730 GMT 19 Nov 80

[Excerpts] Hojjat ol-Eslam Val Moslemin Hashemi Rafsanjani, speaker of the Islamic Majlis, addressed the following statement to the fraternal Algerian people upon his arrival yesterday in the Algerian capital:

In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate. I am very pleased to be visiting fraternal, friendly and revolutionary Algeria. This has been my ambition for some time; it is also the ambition of all of my colleagues and the Iranian people. We have always wanted to visit your revolutionary country, which has sacrificed over 1 million martyrs to achieve its independence and to expel colonialism from its territory.

My visit is at the invitation of Brother Bitat, speaker of the Algerian People's Assembly. We strongly believe in the exchange of viewpoints on current Islamic affairs. What we are seeing in the Middle East today is not a war between Iran and Iraq, but an all-out attack by imperialism, Zionism and reaction against the Islamic revolution.

Brother Algerians: Just as the victory of your great revolution and the complete expulsion of colonialism have awakened Muslims and the oppressed in the world, the victory of the Islamic revolution has increased their confidence in a better future. Islam has been presented to the world, especially to the Third World countries, as a mission of liberation. Muslims have regained self-confidence after having been exposed to domination and humiliation at the hands of the imperialists.

This explains the plots of imperialism and Zionism against the Islamic revolution. When all of their plots failed, they entrusted Saddam with the task of crushing the Islamic revolution through a treacherous military attack. In this attack, Saddam resorted to the most hideous and inhumane methods; however, he has not been able to achieve his satanic objectives.

Addressing the fraternal Algerian people, Rafsanjani added: We know that Saddam is claiming that he is defending Arabism, but we also know that Saddam has previously stabbed the Arabs and their central issues in the back.

The Muslim Iranian people expect other Muslims in the world to back them in defeating this plot. In the name of the Iranian people, I assert that the Iraqi regime's aggression and war against the Islamic Republic of Iran are aimed only at Islam, but that regime will not achieve any positive results, because Islam is supreme.

PARS has learned that Hojjat ol-Eslam Rafsanjani visited the cemetery of the martyrs of the Algerian revolution today in the company of the deputy speaker of the Algerian People's Assembly. He visited the tombs of the late President Houari Boumediene and 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jaza'iri, a hero of Algerian independence.

After this visit, Rafsanjani proceeded to the Algerian People's Assembly, where he was met by Speaker Bitat, who delivered a speech on the history of the Algerian people's struggle against imperialism. Bitat also welcomed Rafsanjani's visit to Algeria.

Rafsanjani made a speech in which he reviewed the situation in Iran under the defunct regime and the position of the Islamic Republic of Iran on various issues, especially the war imposed on Iran by the Iraqi regime.

Rafsanjani said: When the enemy failed to provoke internal seditions through terrorism, assassinations, military coups and economic blockade, he resorted to conventional war, which he imposed on us to prevent us from accomplishing our major tasks. Saddam assumed the responsibility of sparking off this war with the support Jordan, Oman and Mauritania [as received]. The United States planned this plot against us. We believe that the application of Islam in the region is the only means of crushing all of these plots.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Rafsanjani added: We were not ready when the war broke out. We were surprised by an attack from the air, the land and the sea. Still, we preferred not to seek anyone's help. We depended on our people and ourselves in defending our Islamic revolution. Our people came forth in search of martyrdom. We stopped the enemy penetration. We are now determined to bury the enemy in our land.

Rafsanjani said: What our people expect from the fraternal Algerian people and all Muslims in the world is that they not remain silent on aggression, because such silence will be unjustifiable. Algeria knows all of the facts. The war has been going on for 50 days now, therefore, we have to stress justice. You either convince us that we were not right, or if you fail to convince us, then you should know clearly that the Iraqi regime is the aggressor. In such a case, you must condemn it and thus further confirm your revolutionary line. This is the minimum we expect from a people who have offered 1 million martyrs and knew the bitter and sweet experiences of revolution. We attach great importance to what Algeria says.

Rafsanjani continued: The Iranian people will find it difficult if Algeria remains silent, because for 20 years the Iranian people have looked up to the Algerian revolution as their example. All we want is that justice be upheld. The maximum we expect is that we join hands in unifying the progressive Islamic countries, in order to defend justice in the Islamic world; to remove the Zionist entity, the imperialist base that serves the designs of the two superpowers; and to crush reaction.

In conclusion, Rafsanjani said: Let God Almighty be our witness that we have frankly proclaimed our readiness to crush injustice, tyranny and imperialism in the world, especially in the region, and to elevate Islam.

Meeting With President Bendjedid

LD200622 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0434 GMT 20 Nov 80

[Text] According to a PARS report, yesterday Hojjat ol-Eslam Val Moslemin Hashemi Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, met and conferred with His Excellency Chadli Bendjedid, the Algerian president. This meeting took place at the president's office and lasted for 1 hour and 40 minutes.

The speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly in an interview considered his meeting with the Algerian president as successful and said: At this meeting we discussed the Iran-Iraq war and reached a good conclusion.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Val Moslemin Hashemi Rafsanjani said: we had discussions on the other issues regarding the region, such as the Palestinian issue and the details of the clashes in the occupied Palestine and the discussions were generally fruitful.

This report states that at this meeting while raising the details of the Iraqi aggression on Iran, Mr Rafsanjani said: Saddam has imposed this war on us and has inflicted numerous losses upon the Muslim nations of Iran and Iraq. He is walking on a path leading to satisfying the interests of American imperialism and Zionism, which wish to destroy the unity of the Islamic peoples.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi at the end of this meeting went to a gathering of children outside the Algerian president's office and distributed pictures of Imam Khomeyni among them. According to a PARS report this action excited them so that even when the pictures ran out some of the children who had not received pictures of the imam were following Mr Rafsanjani with utmost excitement.

Meeting with Polisario Front Leader

LD200627 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0430 GMT 20 Nov 80

[Text] According to a report by PARS, Mr Bachir Mustapha, the deputy general-secretary of the Polisario Front, has been present at the temporary residence of Hojjat ol-Eslam Val Moslemin Hashemi Rafsanjani in Algiers and has met and conferred with him.

At this meeting the speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly of Iran told Bachir Mustapha: Iraq's aggression on the Islamic country of Iran helped us know our friends and enemies better and as a result the faces of the hypocrites are known to us more than ever.

The deputy secretary-general of the Polisario Front expressed his pleasure in meeting with Mr Rafsanjani and said: All Muslims and Arabs must side with justice and give rights to those who defend themselves, not the aggressors.

YAZDI SAYS FOUR CONDITIONS FOR HOSTAGE RELEASE STILL HOLD

DW201018 Bonn DIE WELT in German 20 Nov 80 p 10

[Report on Tehran correspondent Claus Bienfait undated interview with Ibrahim Yazdi, chairman of the Majlis Foreign Relations Committee]

[Text] Iran is not prepared to give up the four prerequisites for the release of the 52 hostages. The American side is held responsible for every delay in achieving an agreement. DIE WELT had a talk in Tehran with Ibrahim Yazdi, one of the closest aides of revolution leader Ayatollah Khomeyni. When the U.S. Embassy was occupied, Yazdi was foreign minister, and at present he chairs the parliamentary Committee on Foreign Relations.

Yazdi believes that in his answer last week to the Iranian parliament President Carter made "positive" statements with regard to two demands, an answer that was passed through diplomatic channels via Algeria. He is said to have promised that in the future the United States will not interfere any more in Iranian domestic policy, and he declared that his government will voice no damage claims in connection with the taking of hostages.

The deputy reports that the letter explained Carter's difficulties in fulfilling two other demands: the release of the frozen Iranian accounts, which have claims against them by numerous firms and private persons, and the confiscation of all possessions of the deceased shah, on which court decisions are also necessary.

While Yazdi refused to make detailed statements prior to a decision by parliament, other sources indicated a model for a compromise. Iran would possibly be prepared to recognize justified claims in separate treaties, such as, for example, financial demands resulting from credits, but it demands that the U.S. Government handle other claims and see to it that the family of the shah not be allowed to transfer its property prior to a legally valid court decision.

Yazdi contested that U.S. courts are competent to handle all claims directed against Iran. "The firms must make their claims to Iranian judges." Asked whether he and his colleagues could give in on this or that point, he said: "I do not think so." He said that the hostages are still in the hands of the militant students who had agreed, however, to hand them over to a government representative at any time.

The possibility exists as before that some of the Americans could return home if one or two of the conditions were fulfilled. The objection that Carter did not want to have such a step-by-step trade was answered by the committee chairman with an ambiguous smile and the remark: "There are so many things Mr Carter does not want."

Khomeyni's aide termed the war in the Gulf a "political affair" that cannot be settled by a "military victory" of one side or the other.

He said he was "not very optimistic" regarding Olof Palme's chances, who is in Tehran for 2 days, as UN mediator, because the United Nations proved to be "impotent" on an earlier occasion. As long as the Security Council does not even condemn the Iraqi attack, nobody can expect the Iranian people to make concessions.

Asked about the danger of the two superpowers interfering in the conflict of the two Islamic neighbors, Yazdi admitted his increasing concern. He said particularly the United States could be interested in fanning the crisis indirectly to thus "justify its military activities in the Middle East."

Yazdi, one of the few remaining persons holding leading positions without being a priest, made only reserved statements about Iranian domestic policy. He admitted that criticism of the amateurish state leadership was something justified, "but is that not so in every revolution." It will probably be years before Iran has found its "new, postrevolutionary complexion." It should not be surprising that numerous mullahs have become involved politically because "our Islam does not draw a separating line between priests and the other faithful."

MINISTER ADDRESSES ECONOMIC TASKS, U.S. RELATIONS

LD191029, Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 15 Nov 80 p 44

[Rafael Fraguas interview in Tehran with Iranian Minister of Economy and Finance Mohsen Nurbakhsh--date of interview not specified].

[Excerpt] Tehran--"I can see no obstacles to our being able to ensure supplies of our crude to Spain in the future. We are in a position to guarantee it," asserted Iranian Minister of Finance Mohsen Nurbakhsh, who is 32 years of age, a graduate in economics from the University of California and a professor at Tehran University. The Iranian finance minister asserted that "So far Iran has encountered no major economic difficulties in coping with the war." "However," he added, "we have adopted some precautionary measures, such as, for instance, rationing gas or transferring the harbor activity of Khorramshahr, which received most of the imports entering the country, to other parts of the country."

With respect to the repercussions which satisfying the demands set by Iran for the release of the hostages could have on the Iranian economy, the Iranian minister said that "in the short term this would not affect our country's economy at all, because we have sufficient resources to tackle our problems. With respect to military spare parts and arms, this question would have to be answered by the military authorities."

Nurbakhsh expressed skepticism with respect to a possible normalization of economic and financial relations with the United States. "I personally do not believe that such a restoration will occur, but this would depend on the way in which the United States approaches us. We could expand our relations, but if the United States continues with the line which it has maintained toward us so far, it will not be possible."

In the opinion of the young Iranian finance minister, "It is very difficult to reconcile the normalization of relations with the United States with our need to maintain a line of economic independence. I do not believe in this reconciliation, personally, because it has not respected us over the years, and I do not believe it will do so now. However, there are other countries which will be able to supply us with the products which this country used to receive from the United States, such as those of West Europe and Japan."

"Moreover, the economic dependence is not one-sided," Minister Nurbakhsh added. "Although we need to import a number of products from them, they need our oil and will need it increasingly. For instance, Britain has found itself affected economically since it severed economic relations with Iran. This demonstrates that this dependence is mutual. As a result of all this, we can easily restore our relations and our market with the West European countries in order to import from them the products which our economy requires."

With respect to the Iranian Islamic regime's economic plans, Mohsen Burbakhsh believes they are based essentially on using the income from oil to develop industry and agriculture, with a new significance attributed to imports, aimed at satisfying the needs of the majority of the population. "In the agricultural sector Iran could very quickly achieve self-sufficiency, just as in the foodstuffs sector. Without needing to resort to imports, we have abundant resources, water and irrigation systems, which with adequate planning could make us fully self-sufficient. However, in industry we have some problems. Our industrial system is predominantly one of assembly, and its transformation into a new industrial apparatus in keeping with our country's needs will be expensive."

According to the Iranian minister, the principal economic task which "will henceforth be tackled in industry will be that of transforming this assembly structure into another of our own, in order to equip the country with an independent motor industry and machine manufacturing industry. We know the technology and have personnel for undertaking this task and salaried staff for directing it. We will earmark large amounts of capital for this task."

With respect to the shape which the Iranian economy will take, the minister asserted that "it will be based on the absorption by the state of large-scale industry, heavy industry and the iron and steel industry, and it will keep medium and small enterprises in the hands of private capital."

"We have already begun the task of converting this assembly industry, and the government is currently providing all that is needed for getting this transformation under way, such as water supplies and electricity, as well as the necessary lines of credit."

"I cannot assert that there is an Islamic economic model," the Iranian minister concluded, "but in broad outlines I can say that we are seeking to consolidate in our country's economic life an independent system capable of reconciling the freedom which is associated with capital in capitalist economies and the justice which is attributed to the socialist economic systems. In fact this entails a great effort which is even more pronounced now, since our country is at war. We know that the task will be arduous, but I am convinced our country will soon take the lead in this independent model, in which the people take part in managing economic activity and income is transformed into social improvements."

APPEAL TO IRAQIS TO OUST SADDAM HUSAYN REGIME

JN182129 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1800 GMT 18 Nov 80

["Text" of message addressed to the Iraqi Army and people by Rojjat ol-Eslam Muhammad Baqir al-Hakim on the anniversary of the martyrdom of Hoseyn, prophet Muhammad's grandson--recorded]

[Excerpts] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. O believers; o sons of Muhammad, 'Ali and Hoseyn; O our sons and brothers in beloved Iraq: We are witnessing these days the anniversary of the martyrdom of Hoseyn son of 'Ali, peace be upon him; Husayn, son [as heard] of the messenger of God, son of Fatimah az-Zahra', who sacrificed himself, his family and sons in order to awaken the conscience of the Islamic nation which he found drifting toward slavery and humiliation and under the rule of the tyrant and oppressor Yazid, son of Mu'awiyah.

We witness the anniversary of Hoseyn's martyrdom at a decisive stage in the history of our nation and people in Iraq, where we are witnessing a new dark period of oppression, humiliation and tyranny which does not differ in essence from the tyranny and oppression against which Hoseyn, peace be upon him, revolted and for the overthrow of which he sacrificed his life and the life of his sons and family. Hoseyn's call on that day is still resounding in Islamic history. It has been reactivated by Muslim generations in its struggle against blasphemy, tyranny and oppression.

Today, Hoseyn calls on us to stand in the face of Saddam's daily oppression of our people. He is enslaving women and children and forcing people to blaspheme and disobey God. He imposes a war against God, his prophet and Islam on the people and orders them to kill innocent people and destroy the lives of the two Muslim peoples in Iraq and Iran. He is spreading immorality and sin and disobedience to God. He is killing the faithful and realizing the interests of colonialism in the region. Saddam today is no different from yesterday's Yazid. He is worse because of the modern means of destruction invented by the East and the West. He is worse because of his fiendish means, invented by the materialistic regimes to enslave and oppress people.

Only a unified determination is needed to overthrow Saddam's regime. Be united Arabs and Kurds, Sunnis and Shiites, workers and peasants, writers and intellectuals. Raise your hands in his ugly face and reject his savage regime. Save your necks, get rid of his yoke and break the chains of fear around your hearts because Saddam does not differentiate among you.

O sons of our people, look at the Hoseyn tragedy. Imagine that Hoseyn is now among you and is calling on you to reject the Yazid of this age. Look at Hoseyn speaking about this modern Yazid who kills, mutilates and tortures old men, children and women and who does not show mercy toward anybody, even his friends and collaborators. The Yazid of this age has killed your men, ravished your honor, enslaved your sons, insulted your dignity, corrupted your religion and spoiled your life for you. He torments you in your lifetime and causes you to lose the other life in heaven. You must stand as one man and sacrifice yourselves for your religion and dignity as Hoseyn, peace be upon him, and his faithful followers did. History will make you immortals and God will award you in the other life.

O brave soldiers, revolt against Saddam and his henchmen and be in possession of your will. Direct your rifles at those criminal officers who force you to be aggressors and criminals. You must join your Iraqi mojahedin brothers who took up arms to defend their religion and people. They refused to be slaves and rejected humiliation, blasphemy and tyranny. The Iraqi Army and people must stop this bloodshed, which is imposed on them by Saddam and which has resulted in the death of our best youths. The Iraqi Army and people must rally behind the banner of jihad and Islam raised by their mojahedin brothers in order to get rid of the tyrant oppressor Saddam the infidel.

Our brothers in the army must impair their military equipment and render the ammunition ineffective. They must turn their weapons against their enemies. They should not kill their Muslim brothers. Killing will make them abide in eternal hell, especially if they kill in a war against Islam and the Koran and against God and his prophet.

The army personnel and those of the popular army must repent and return to the teachings of Islam and to Islamic morals. They should either reject the orders of the tyrant or render these orders ineffective so that God will reward them as mujahedin and will save them from humiliation in this life. The day of victory against this tyrant is getting close.

And soon will the unjust assailants know what vicissitudes their affairs will take. God will certainly aid those who aid his cause; for verily God is full of strength, exalted in might. And my success can only come from God. In him I trust and unto him I look. [Koranic verses]

Peace and blessings of God be upon you.

BALUCHESTAN SUNNI LEADER CONDEMNS IRAQI AGGRESSION

LD160930 Tehran PARS in English 0803 GMT 16 Nov 80

[Text] Tehran, 16 Nov (PARS)--A respected Sunni leader of the Sistan va Baluchestan Province, (Mowlavi Abdolhamid), said in a radio interview yesterday that the Sunni clergy leaders of the province had condemned the measures by the aggressive Iraqi regime against Iran since the outbreak of the war. They had announced in the mosques that it was a religious duty of all Baluchis and Fars Muslim people to become ready and united to defend the Muslim country of Iran and to fight against the enemy. (Mowlavi Abdolhamid) referring to the financial donations of the people of Zahedan, the provincial capital, said that the Muslim people of the region were ready to defend the borders of the country.

Stressing that people should preserve their military alertness and continue their donations to the war-stricken people, (Mowlavi Abdolhamid) said that the enemies hoped to sow discord between Shi'as and Sunnis in order that they confront each other. He then called on the people to put aside their disputes and differences and to follow the right path, the path of God and that of the Prophet Mohammad.

ETTELA'AT CITES LIBYAN ENVOY ON 'FASCIST DICTATOR' SADDAM

LD191641 Tehran ETELA'AT in Persian 8 Nov 80 p 10

ETTELA'AT correspondent Abbas Torabian interview with Libyan Ambassador to Iran Sa'd Mudbir: "Saddam is a fascist dictator"--date and place of interview not specified]

[Excerpts] [Question] What sort of relationship is there between the revolution of Iran and that of Libya?

[Answer] I have always pointed out that the relationship between the Islamic revolution of Iran and that of Libya is a strategic one, and I believe that both countries must work hard to spread the Islamic revolution throughout the world and attain such a level of progress and perfection that all the world's underprivileged will live freely under the power of providence, regardless of color or creed. I have also said many times that the relationship between the two Islamic revolutions of Iran and Libya is one whose like the world has never seen.

[Question] What is your view of those, like Egypt or Israel, that wish to darken relations between Libya and Iran?

[Answer] In my view, there is no country in the world which can harm relations between us. The reasons for this are clear, since the two countries are completely independent, and they alone make decisions and determine their own fate, without taking orders. It is not Egypt we are talking about, but an individual who imposed himself as president of Egypt after seizing power.

[Question] What is the reason for the postponement of Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi's trip to Damascus?

[Answer] Whether Colonel al-Qadhdhafi's trip is on or off is a topic the newspapers are blowing up; they want to speculate on the outcome when in fact no problem exists and, God willing, when there is a suitable opportunity, Colonel al-Qadhdhafi will go to Damascus. However, I think it should be said that Colonel al-Qadhdhafi's trip to Damascus is something for the Libyan People's Congress to decide, and not Colonel al-Qadhdhafi himself. In principle, Colonel al-Qadhdhafi is not the president of Libya, nor is he a lawmaker able to make the decision, as he knows well.

[Question] Where do you stand as regards the imposed war between Iran and Iraq, and how is this reflected in your country?

[Answer] Let me speak frankly: In this war, both parties are to some extent to blame, However, every Muslim in the world should rejoice when he witnesses the success of the Islamic revolution in Iran, since it is this revolution that has strengthened the Muslim camp against the enemies of Islam, imperialism and the enemies of freedom and independence.

Even supposing that a dispute over the border between Iran and Iraq exists and the Iranians have taken a piece of Iraqi territory, is this the time--in circumstances where Iran is united against Israel and wishes to develop all the dimensions of Islam--to raise issues such as a few kilometers of territory or the 1975 treaty? It is a great joke: As Saddam himself says, he gave a piece of Iraqi land to the Shah and now he wants to take it back from Khomeyni.

Libya's position is very clear: We support the people of both Iran and Iraq; Saddam is fighting both the Iraqi and the Iranian peoples. He is a dictator, a fascist dictator. He had Hasan al-Bakr removed by using deception and duplicity, and assumed power himself. He destroyed all those who were interested in, and pursuing, the idea of unity; consequently, he cleared the arena and attained power. In 1977--when As-Sadat was inspecting the regions of occupied Palestine, and his treason was clearly visible, and Colonel al-Qadhdhafi called for an Arab conference to review As-Sadat's deeds alongside the crimes of the Israeli regime, and make decisions as necessary, since As-Sadat had created a great split in Arab solidarity--Iraq was the only country to raise the issues of Arab harmony and anti-imperialism and speak out against cruelty and oppression. But it was also Iraq which cut its ties with the Arabs and played no role in the Arab movement against Israel. And now Iraq is waging war against our Muslim brothers in Iraq and Iran. Iraq always used to shout slogans but never sent a single aircraft against occupied Palestine. Why? Because Saddam cannot distinguish friend, brother and Muslim from foe. There are numerous instances of Saddam's cruelty in Iraq. How can Saddam speak of freedom and democracy now that he has started this war? We begged him not to unleash this war. We said that to start this war would be a mistake, but he paid no attention, and now he considers that we are against the Arab nations. We are not; it is he whose stance is anti-Arab. If we were to perceive that a certain power wished to destroy the independence and freedom of the Arabs, we should fight it, even if that power were Iran. The issue here is that it is Saddam who is waging war against the Arabs, not Iran.

Under circumstances when the enemy is lying in wait, how is it that two Muslim brothers allow themselves to fight each other? If there is a problem with the [1975] treaty, then they should sit down behind closed doors and solve it, since Islam has indicated the manner in which problems between two brothers should be solved, and this has not been applied in this instance.

We have reached the conclusion that we are faced here with a dictator who wishes to be a great historical personage; he wants to be famous and appropriate for himself a place in history. As one who seized power in Iraq, he now wishes to recreate the battle of Qaddasiyah which delineated the boundary between heathenism and Islam, but this time to turn it against Islam. We see clearly what this dictator is up to. He is playing a very dangerous game which is endangering Islam, the Arabs and everyone else, and we cannot accept it.

An interesting question which we find astonishing is: Whom is Saddam killing? Aren't most of the people of Khuzestan Arabic-speaking, the very people whom Saddam claims he wants to free? It is really interesting that he is killing Arabs living under the flag of Islam, while he has forgotten the Arabs living under the Zionist flag. Someone should ask Saddam which Arabs need liberating. Yes, of course, it is obviously the latter, and not those who live in freedom and comfort in Iran.

SUPERVISOR OF KEYHAN APPOINTED BY KHOMEYNI

LD191736 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 19 Nov 80

[Excerpt] Hojjat ol-Eslam Seyyed Mohammad Khatami has been appointed to the post of supervisor of the newspaper KEYHAN by Imam Khomeyni, leader of the Islamic Revolution and founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

LONDON PAPER NOTES IRANIAN ENVOY'S VISIT TO GULF STATES

LD190849 London ASH-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 18 Nov 80 p 1

[ASH-SHARQ AL-AWSAT report: "An Iranian Envoy To Tour the Gulf States"]

[Text] Kuwait--ASH-SHARQ AL-AWSAT learned yesterday that Iranian Ambassador to Kuwait Dr 'Ali Shams Ardakani will embark on an extensive tour of the Gulf states Thursday as an envoy of his government to discuss current developments and the repercussions of the war between Iran and Iraq.

Ardakani will visit the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Qatar, Bahrain, the Sultanate of Oman and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

AFP: OFFICES OF MIZAN NEWSPAPER REPORTED RANSACKED 18 NOV

NC191506 Paris AFP in English 1430 GMT 19 Nov 80

[Excerpt] Tehran, 19 Nov (AFP)--About 20 people, masked and armed with sticks, ransacked the offices of the MIZAN Newspaper in Tehran yesterday, a MIZAN official said here today. They occupied the offices for about 5 hours, destroyed doors, windows and office equipment and stole some documents, the official said, adding that no one was injured.

TEHRAN CLAIMS BATTLE SUCCESSES ON VARIOUS FRONTS

19 Nov Dispatch

LD191826 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 19 Nov 80

[Text] According to a PARS dispatch, fighting continues to rage on the Sar-e Pol-e Zahab, Sarab-e Garm, Qasr-e Shirin, Gilan-e Gharb, Sumar, the hills of Kani Sakht and Shur Shirin fronts. The Islamic Republic of Iran's combatants smashed enemy positions on the Gilan-e Gharb, Sumar and Naft-e Shah fronts yesterday and today. The report says that on the Gilan-e Gharb front the Islamic Army destroyed 2 tanks, 3 vehicles and 17 enemy personnel and also put out of action 1 enemy cannon.

According to this report, last night the Iraqi Ba'th forces last night once again launched cowardly attacks on Gilan-e Gharb and fired several artillery shots at the city. The PARS correspondent, citing an informed source, reported that during the past 48 hours the battle continued on the Sumar front, and the warriors of the Islamic Republic of Iran during this period enjoyed the protection of the fast-flying eagles of the airborne division and achieved remarkable successes. On this front enemy positions, bunkers and equipment suffered damage. On the Sar-e Pol-e Zahab front last night one soldier was wounded and was moved to the Imam Khomeyni Hospital in Eslamabad where he is receiving treatment.

20 Nov Reports

LD201416 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1039 GMT 20 Nov 80

[Text] According to PARS from Kermanshah, an intense battle, which started yesterday between the defenders of the Islamic revolution and the forces of blasphemy on the Sar-e Pol-e Zahab front, is still continuing fiercely, and the warriors of the Islamic Republic of Iran are firing on the aggressive enemy positions on this front with all their power by using heavy and light weapons. On several occasions, the defenders of Islam foiled the attacks of Saddam's mercenaries and inflicted heavy losses on enemy forces.

The latest PARS report, which was received at noon today, indicates: Our brave combatants succeeded in recapturing the strategic region of Khvormuj from the hands of Iraqi aggressors. This report also indicates that the army of Islam continues to advance in the region of Sae-e Pol-e Zahab and the enemy divisions, which are unable to withstand the brave attack of our combatants, have started to flee in large groups. On this front, the morale of the Iraqi aggressors, faced with the commando type operations and artillery fire of our forces, is so low that they have mined areas around their own positions. The Iraqi Ba'thist forces are hitting the mines which they themselves planted and as a result they have suffered heavy losses.

On the basis of another report, which was communicated to PARS at Kermanshah this morning, on the (Sarab-e Garm) front, our brave combatants destroyed one trench, two mortar launching positions and one cannon of the enemy.

On the other hand, a PARS correspondent reported from the Sumar front: During an intense battle on this front yesterday our forces achieved outstanding successes and they were able to kill 500 of Saddam's mercenaries and smashed many of the enemy trenches and positions. At present, hand-to-hand fighting continues in the region of Sumar to mop up the area from the filth of the Iraqi Ba'thists.

Yesterday morning Saddam's aggressors cowardly opened artillery and mortar fire on residential areas of Gilan-e Gharb and badly damaged houses in this city. On the basis of the PARS report, during this attack the mercenaries [passage indistinct] the artillery and mortar fire of Saddam's aggressors martyred 6 people and wounded 40.

Apart from this inhumane and anti-Islamic attack by the Ba'thist mercenaries, at 1305 yesterday two Iraqi MiGs and one helicopter flew over Gilan-e Gharb and broke the sound barrier. [as heard] The aim of the aggressors was to frighten the brave people of Gilan-e Gharb into leaving the city, but they are not aware that the brave inhabitants of this region, through their epic resistance, will rub the face of the aggressors into the ground.

This report also indicates: In retaliation against the artillery attack of 'Ablaq forces on this region, the brave combatants of Gilan-e Gharb opened heavy artillery fire on enemy trenches and positions, destroyed one enemy battery and inflicted some losses on Iraqi forces.

On the basis of another PARS report, the combatants of the Islamic Republic of Iran, during two brave attacks on the aggressive forces of Saddam, in the regions of 'Ayn-e Khush and (Fakkeh) killed 61 of them and destroyed enemy vehicles, 3 tanks and 1 jeep.

A Central News Bureau correspondent, quoting the Ilam gendarmerie, also reported: Yesterday a mortar-launching unit of the gendarmerie completely destroyed one Iraqi post and two lift-trucks parked at this post. Around 50 of Saddam's mercenaries were also killed.

A PARS report also indicates that following an intense battle which started between the combatants of Islam and Saddam's mercenaries this morning, our brother guards with the cooperation of other brothers in the mobilization forces and with the support of heavy artillery fire of the warriors of the army of the Islamic Republic of Iran, succeeded in advancing several kilometers on the Kanishahr axis and recaptured some very important strategic positions from Saddam's mercenaries. During this battle, a large number of Iraqi mercenaries were killed and several of their tanks and vehicles were destroyed.

Also, during a victorious battle on the axis of the (Konjankan) dam and the heights overlooking this dam, the defenders of the Islamic revolution achieved an outstanding advance and killed a large number of the enemy personnel.

In the region of Mehran our warriors captured some strategically important heights and the merciless battle of the aggressive enemy still continues to occupy newer positions. During these clashes, so far 2 of our combative brothers have been martyred and 22 wounded.

ARMED FORCES JOINT STAFF COMMUNIQUE 302, 303

302: Iraqi Losses at Susangerd

LD191128 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1052 GMT 19 Nov 80

[Communique 302 of the Joint Staff of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran].

[Excerpts] The Islamic Army, the corps of revolution guards and the combative people of Khuzestan, during recent battles against the Iraqi Ba'thist mercenaries on Susangerd fronts, having been inspired by God Almighty, through their consistent endeavors, have succeeded in cleansing Susangerd of the stains of atheism and paganism and have dealt deadly and final blows to the enemy. The enemy's losses and casualties up to 18 November on the Susangerd front are as follows:

A. Equipment losses: More than 100 tanks and 8 personnel carriers, 5 trucks, 49 artillery pieces; 23 ammunition vehicles, 7 ammunition camps; 3 missile-carrying vehicles; 2 transporters, 4 five-five guns; 2 heavy machineguns; 1 antiaircraft gun; 1 mortar launcher and 29 military vehicles.

B. Casualties: 750 dead and wounded; 18 captured.

[Signed] Joint Staff of the Armed Forces of the Islamic

303: Airborne Division Operations

LD192131 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 2030 GMT 19 Nov 80

[Communique 303 of the Joint Staff of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran].

[Text] In his exalted name, struggling and brave compatriots, the operations carried out by the combatants of the airborne division of the ground forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran today, 19 November, in different regions were as follows:

A. In Ahvaz and Susangerd regions the fighter planes of the Airborne Division inflicted the following damage and losses on the enemy:

1. The complete destruction of 24 tanks, 2 motorized guns, 1 antiaircraft gun, 1 personnel-carrier and 3 trucks;
2. Setting fire to an ammunition tent, destroying a trench, killing 160 Iraqi Ba'thist mercenaries and injuring 60 aggressors;

B. In (Eynkhosh) and west of Dezful:

1. The destruction of one tank and several trucks belonging to the enemy;
2. Killing about 20 enemy personnel.

Also, while carrying out the above operations a helicopter belonging to the Airborne Division of the Army of the Islamic Republic of Iran was hit but its pilot was miraculously saved;

C. In the northeast of Abadan:

1. The destruction of three tanks, four vehicles and an anti-aircraft gun;
2. The destruction of two mortar emplacements and of a number of manned trenches;

D. On the western front:

1. The destruction of 10 enemy tanks and 7 concrete pillboxes;
2. Killing more than 100 enemy personnel.

Also according to the report received on 18 November the combatants of the gendarmerie of the Islamic Republic successfully fired on and destroyed a temporary Iraqi post to the south of the Palanganeh post in Iraq and 2 dump trucks, and killed about 50 of the enemy forces.

[Signed] The Joint Staff of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran

IRAQI MIG'S OVERFLY IRANIAN CITIES

Qom Overfly

LD200409 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0304 GMT 20 Nov 80

[Text] According to a PARS report, at 1518 yesterday three Iraqi Ba'th Army MiG airplanes violated the Qom airspace at a medium altitude. As a result of the anti-aircraft fire of the forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran, however, they were forced to flee without managing to carry out any operations.

Arak Overfly

LD191830 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 19 Nov 80

[Text] According to a PARS dispatch, an enemy MiG-23 aircraft violated Arak's airspace at 0950 today. The encroaching aircraft, which was flying at a low altitude and whose missiles were visible, was forced to flee without firing its missiles because of anti-aircraft fire by the Army of the Islamic Republic of Iran.